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his judgment in determining which tent community each family must join. 361 621

The winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near the winter house each family plants oats which are cut green and used during the winter as fodder. 233 361 There is enough land so that everyone can plant as much oats as he needs for his cattle. The two summer pastures, on the other hand, are not always the same, a particular pasture being used only once every two years. Thus one family lives in five different pasture areas in the course of two years, on a winter pasture and two summer pastures per year. The distances between the pasture areas of a tent community are never very great. For example, the following were the distances between the pasture areas of the tent community in which I lived: winter camp to first summer camp was over 20 li (1); first summer camp to second summer camp

1. Chinese li is about 600 meters.

about 20 li; second summer camp to winter camp 40 - 50 li.

The tents of a tent community are as a rule pitched on the slope of a narrow valley. 342 They are in long rows at irregular distances of 20 to 200 meters from one another, so that the entire settlement can be 2 - 4 kilometers long. On the bottom of the valley it is usually too damp to pitch a tent. The choice of site for a tent camp is primarily determined by the water conditions.

The tents (2) are not all the same size. Smaller tents have a

2. Illustrations, for example, in Futterer 6), pages 336, 342; detailed descriptions in Hermanns 3), page 43; Ekvall 4), page 74.

rectangular floor space of about 8 x 4 meters, larger ones about 15 x 5 meters. /19/ The cloth of the tent is a very coarse blackish brown material woven of yak hair, either by the nomad women themselves or by women of the sedentary Fantzu. The cost of the material for an entire tent averages about $50. The floor of the tent consists simply of trampled earth. The tent itself consists of a wall and a roof. The wall, about 1.30 meters high, is a width of cloth which encloses the tent and is fastened on stakes of the proper height. The roof is made of widths of cloth sewed together horizontally at a height of 1.80 meters and fastened to four stakes of the same height. These stakes form a smaller rectangle inside the wall, the sides of which are about one meter from the wall.

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yak. Its tail is thick and bushy but, unlike the yak, is clearly de- 232
fined at the root. It has larger horns than the yak. The pien-niu gets to be over 20 years old, that is, older than the yak. Male pien-niu are always castrated and used as pack oxen. The pien-niu is valued because of its greater strength, its longer life and better milk production; it also withstands the warmer climate of lower altitudes better than the yak. For the yak breeder, therefore, the pien-niu has a similar position as the mule has for the horse breeder.

The pien-niu cow drops her first calf after 3 to 4 years. The 231
price of a milch cow fluctuates between $40 and $50, and is thus 435
twice as high as that of a yak cow. A yak maw full of butter is the annual rent for a good pien-niu. A maw contains about 18 chin. The cross between a male yak and a female beef cow is called szu-pien-niu in Chinese. It is not regarded as valuable as the pien-niu, although it also lives to be 20 years old. The szu-pien-niu has a bushy tail, smaller horns and above all weaker legs than the pien-niu. The price of a szu-pien-niu is $30 to $40. The cross between the yak bull and the pien-niu cow (chia-pien-niu) is valued even less. It has the same fur as beef cattle, but is larger. This cross-breed lives to be only 10 years old. It costs about $30. A cross between /27/ a bull and a female pien-niu is called ga-ba. It lives to be no more than 7 or 8 years old. A ga-ba calf is immediately slaughtered, and the mother is then milked.

After yaks, sheep (1) are the most important domestic animals. 231

1. With regard to breeds, see Hermanns 3), page 87.

One family seldom owns more than 700 sheep; but there are also families that have no sheep at all. In the community made up of 20 tents where I lived there were seven families who had no sheep. The total number of sheep in this community came to more than 9,000, which means an average of 700 per herd owner. Sheep are not leased. One figures 40 to 50 ewes to one ram. The sheep drop their first young at two years; it drops only one lamb. A good ewe is allowed to die a natural death; otherwise sheep are slaughtered when they are two or three years old. Wethers are slaughtered at three or four years. A good sheep costs $3 to $3.50, a fat wether [436] $9.

Like the yaks, the sheep are driven to pasture early in the morn- 233
ing and back to the tents at night. Some herd owners have simple, circular sheepfolds made of wooden beams next to their tents, into which they drive their sheep at night.

682 Quarrels leading to murder happen more often, according to my interpreter, among the Mewu-Fantzu than among the neighboring Chinese. The Fantzu above all tend to become brutal when they are drunk. Murder also occurs. The motive for murder is either jealousy or covetousness (murder attended with robbery). It also happens that a man shoots another because he honestly believes he has been harmed by him through magic.

682 628 If a murder has been committed, the family of the victim does not relax its efforts until it has revenged itself on the murderer, if possible by killing him. Blood revenge is taken also if murders have been committed in a state of intoxication or if a person suspected of black magic has been murdered. If /82/ blood revenge is not taken, one loses respect. However, blood revenge rarely occurs in actual fact, for the murderer usually flees beyond the borders of the tribal territory, seeking refuge with some other tribe. If the murderer is caught before the victim's family was able to carry out blood revenge, he is first of all soundly thrashed and held captive until he can pay a penalty of 80 yaks. Thereupon he is banished from the tribal territory for four years. There is no death penalty inflicted except by the clan of the blood avengers. The property of the murderer is seized if he was captured or if he escaped. Blood revenge is not considered murder and is not punished. The custom of blood revenge among the Mewu-Fantzu is thus already very much mitigated. It seems to be largely replaced by an indemnity in the form of yaks. For example, if a member of a ts'aowa group kills a member of another group, the two ts'aowa chieftains decide on the indemnity, which is usually a penalty of 80 yaks, at least 40 of which must be first-class, the rest can be less good. If the relatives of the murderer cannot meet the payment in full, the entire ts'aowa group to which the murderer belongs must make up the rest.

421 233 Foremost among the property rights of the nomads is, of course, the question of the right to pasturelands. The pastureland is divided among the individual tent communities by the t'ou-mu. The land used for planting oats near the winter pastures is divided among the individual families. There is enough land for planting oats, and everyone can cultivate as much as he needs for his stock. The t'ou-mu divides the various families into tent communities. The lamaseries have their own pastures for yaks; they do not raise sheep. The boundaries of the pasturelands of individual tent communities must be respected just as strictly as those of the entire

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner must pay two chin of butter. 421 233

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunting rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine. 421 224

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are usually no disputes in business deals. 432

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves. The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu. Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge. It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge. They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago (1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese. However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral, respected role between Fantzu and Chinese. 692 563

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place within the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border. 692

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for permission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work together in such cases.

direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shepherds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and building houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from family names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They believe that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Swo-Tibetan Border AE3

Mi-li to Chung-tien

But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.